The Library of Congress
Central ... Service
Received
DEC 29 19...

# EQUAL RIGHTS

"MEN AND WOMEN SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND EVERY PLACE SUBJECT TO ITS JURISDICTION"

*Amendment to the United States Constitution now before Congress*

NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, Washington, D. C.

Vol. 28, No. 12 DECEMBER, 1942

## This Too Shall Pass!

*By* ANNA KELTON WILEY

WE COME to the end of another year! A year of successes and disappointments. During 1942 we had the thrill of a favorable report by the Senate Judiciary Committee on May 11, when the Equal Rights Amendment (S. J. Res. No. 8) was reported out of the Senate and placed on the Calendar, No. 1363. We had a bitter disappointment when the same favorable action by the House Judiciary Committee, on July 22, failed to be reported because of a technicality.

We rejoiced over the defeat of the mandatory joint income tax provision for married couples living together, in the new revenue bills of 1941 and 1942. We took a major part in the protest which defeated this provision, a protest against the injustice of pushing married women back into the chattel class.

We rejoiced when the National Resources Planning Board came out in March, 1942, with its Nine Points, the Seventh Freedom reading: "The right to equality before the law." These are words dear to the National Woman's Party when applied to the equal status of men and women.

We rejoiced when the War Labor Board, on September 25, 1942, stated in a formal opinion that women doing the same work as men should get the same wages.

We rejoiced when the American Medical Women's Association, on June 6, 1942, passed a motion "unanimously endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment.

We rejoiced when the great National Education Association, on July 2, 1942, passed a Resolution reading:

"The National Education Association advocates as a logical extension of the principle of democracy, that men and women shall have equal legal status throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

We rejoiced when the National Association of Women Lawyers, on August 22, 1942, went on record congratulating the Senate Judiciary Committee upon having favorably reported the Equal Rights Amendment to the Senate and urging the House Judiciary Committee to report immediately its favorable action on said amendment to the House and to place the same on the Calendar of the House.

We rejoiced when the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women, the Minnesota Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Business and Professional Women's Clubs of New York State, and the American Association of Soroptimists all re-indorsed the Equal Rights Amendment during the past year.

We rejoiced that Syracuse University planned and initiated a course in its School of Citizenship, last September, on "The Evolution and Present Status of Women as Citizens in American Democracy," going back into Colonial Days and bringing the position of women down to the present time, explaining and elucidating the need for an equal rights amendment.

We rejoiced when the General Federation of Women's Clubs initiated a Program for the Study of the Equal Rights Amendment, among its 16,500 clubs, with a total of 2,500,000 members. The General Federation came out for the federal Woman Suffrage amendment in June, 1914, five years before the Senate passed the federal suffrage amendment in 1919. Hence, when this conservative group of women begins a study of the Equal Rights Amendment, victory seems in sight.

We have rejoiced over the growing number of outsanding men and women who are advocates of equal constitutional status between men and women: Katherine Hepburn, noted actress and screen star. Georgia O'Keeffe, eminent painter; Professor and Mrs. Arthur Meier Schlesinger. (Dr. Schlesinger is Professor of American History at Harvard and the President of the American Historical Association). The Equal Rights Amendment has also been endorsed by Dr. Mary E. Woolley, President Emeritus of Mt. Holyoke; Gladys Swarthout, the great prima donna; Dr. William Moulton Marston, Harvard trained psychologist; Evelyn Newman, Professor of Literature and Languages, Colorado State College of Education; Jeannette Marks, Professor Emeritus of English Literature, Mt. Holyoke; Mrs. Worthington Scranton, Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Council of Republican Women; Mrs. Bessie D. Altemus, President of the Republican Women of Philadelphia; Representative George H. Bender, of Ohio; and by Representatives Leland Ford, Carl Hinshaw and Harry L. Englebright, all of California.

We rejoice that *only nine* national organizations *oppose* the Equal Rights Amendment now, some of which never worked for the woman suffrage amendment, while *nineteen* national and more than one hundred and fifty local groups *endorse* the measure. When the crusade for equal constitutional status between men and women began, 19 years ago, the N. W. P. stood alone.

All these events, as the year passes in review, give cause for gratitude and hope! As Tennyson said: "Knowledge grows from more to more." The Prophet Isaiah counseled, that in the way of the Lord: "Precept must be upon precept; line upon line; here a little and there a little." St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, adds: "For now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face." This is evolution.

The war is hastening the process of evolution as far as women are concerned, by forcing upon them roles heretofore considered the work of men. Women are assuming these roles eagerly, conscientiously, wholeheartedly and with success. Women are entering the auxiliaries of the Armed Forces on land and sea. This discipline of mind and body for women will cause the greatest progress among women in the future. Mental and physical fitness will result in making women ready to take a more active part in building the new social structure that must rise upon the ruins of the present.

This war will pass; the handicapped position of women will pass; all the mistakes of the present age will pass; and men and women together shall build a society in which every member is free. As the first step, the Equal Rights Amendment must triumph!

### *CREDO*

*Trumpets blare and the war gods call,*
*Lo—the Four Horsemen ride afar.*
*Crowns are shattered and kingdoms fall;*
*Dim is the Palestinian star.*
*Yet, resounding from ancient days,*
*Clear, as dew on the summer grass,*
*Shines a text through the murky haze—*
*Calm, inspiring—"This, too, shall pass."*

*Keep your faith and your courage high!*
*Though the future looks grim and gray,*
*Though the blackness bedims the sky,*
*Soon there will dawn a brighter day.*
*Right is certain to conquer wrong;*
*The cross will banish the devil's mass.*
*Hark again to the sage's song.*
*Pax Vobiscum—"This, too, shall pass."*

—RAY H. EVERETT.

# Equal Rights

Official Organ
of the
NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY
Capitol Hill Washington, D. C.
Phone Atlantic 1210

Published Monthly at
144 B Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter at the post-office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Subscription, $1.00 a Year
Foreign Subscription, $1.50

ANNA KELTON WILEY . . . . . Editor
DORA G. OGLE . . . . . Business Manager



CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

ALMA LUTZ INEZ HAYNES IRWIN
EDITH HOUGHTON HOOKER HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN
MIRIAM E. OATMAN, Ph. D.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Chairman, Alice Paul, N. J.
1st Vice-Chairman, Laura M. Berrien, Ga.
2nd Vice-Chairman, Clara Snell Wolfe, Ohio
3rd Vice-Chairman, Margaret C. Williams, Conn.
Treasurer, Laura M. Berrien, Ga.
Secretary, Dr. Margaret Sebree, D. C.

Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.
Burnita Shelton Mathews, D. C.
Perle S. Mesta, Arizona
Emma Guffey Miller, Pa.
Anita Pollitzer, S. C.
Jane Norman Smith, Vt.
Anna Kelton Wiley, D. C.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

OBJECT

To secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships—in particular to secure the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, and the adherence of the United States to the Equal Rights Treaty. The Woman's Party also supports the Proposed Equality Amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

THE PROPOSED EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Art. 1—Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

"Art. 2—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Present Status

Senate—On the Calendar of the Senate No. 1863.

House—Voted favorably by the Judiciary Committee, not yet reported to the House.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

The National Council of the N. W. P. consists of the Officers, past Chairmen, the Chairman of each of the State and Territory branches and the D. C., the Chairmen of the Occupational Councils and twenty Members at Large. The Members at Large elected by the Convention, October 25 for the next two-year period, were:

Mrs. Ethel Adamson, N. J.
Mrs. Nina Allender, Ill.
Mme. Jacques Blazan, Fla.
Mrs. Estelle Bjerg, Ariz.
Mrs. Louis Buenzli, Pa.
Miss Rosa Cunningham, Iowa
Mrs. Serena Foley Davis, Pa.
Miss Edith Goode, D. C.
Mrs. Dorothy Shipley Granger, Md.
Mrs. Rebekah Greathouse, La.
Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Ill.
Miss Alma Lutz, Mass.
Mrs. Perle S. Mesta, Ariz.
Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Pa.
Miss Anita Pollitzer, S. C.
Mrs. Jane Norman Smith, Vt.
Miss Doris Stevens, N. Y.
Mrs. Helen Hunt West, Fla.
Mrs. Lucy Rice Winkler, Cal.
Mrs. Wm. Kent, Cal.

(Note: The nine Members at Large of the Executive Council are elected by the National Council from its membership, immediately following the Biennial Convention. Occupational Councils at present are: Government Workers, Industrial, Library and House.)


## General Federation of Women's Clubs

At the recent meeting of the Board of Directors of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, held in Chicago, Oct. 16-18, 1942, the following Resolution was adopted:—

RECOGNITION OF WOMEN ON POLICY FORMING COMMITTEES OF THE GOVERNMENT

WHEREAS, It is a known fact that women are not receiving justifiable recognition on policy forming committees of the government, therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Board of Directors of the G.F.W.C. protests to the President of the United States against such discrimination and urges the appointment of qualified women to policy forming committees of the various departments and agencies of government.

## Lucretia Mott

1793, Born, Nantucket Island, Massachusetts.
1817, Began her public work as a minister in Quaker meetings.
1838, Helped organize American Anti-Slavery Society.
1840, Delegate from American Anti-Slavery Society to World Slavery Convention, London.
1848, Called, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, first Equal Rights meeting ever held in the world, at Seneca Falls, New York.
1848 to 1880, Labored untiringly for equality of rights for women.
1880, Died at her home on Old York Road, near Philadelphia.

The approaching sesquicentennial anniversary of the birth of Lucretia Mott, mother of the organized movement for equal rights for women, will be celebrated in the Capitol of the United States on January 2nd, 1943. The celebration will be arranged by the World Woman's Party for Equal Rights and by the National Woman's Party of the United States and will be a ceremony of gratitude and praise.

The historic Equal Rights meeting at Seneca Falls, in 1848, adopted a Declaration of Woman's Rights, drawn up largely by Lucretia Mott. This Declaration has been the basis of the woman movement ever since, not only in the United States but throughout the world. It is as applicable today as when first pronounced.

Many women followed the triumvirate of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony down through the years from 1848 until the Suffrage Amendment became a part of the Constitution, in 1920. After 1920, women continued the struggle and are still going forward—for equality in suffrage was not all.

There are still laws in the different states which work to the disadvantage of women—laws relating to marriage, guardianship of children, property, conditions of labor. Only another amendment to the Constitution can eliminate these ancient discriminations, can prevent new discriminations, and can give justice under the law to all women. Hence the proposed Lucretia Mott Amendment, which would give equality of rights to women in the many fields not covered by the suffrage measure.

On January 2nd, 1943, in the crypt of the Nation's Capitol, the tribute to Lucretia Mott will come from women from all parts of the world—women who wish to pay homage to this great pioneer to whom all women living today are indebted. Two days later, on the opening of Congress, the tribute will come from members of the Senate and House who will formally introduce the Lucretia Mott Amendment in Congress.

The Capitol ceremony will be under the general direction of Ethel C. Adamson of New Jersey, national chairman of the Woman's Party committee on the pioneers of the Woman Movement. Maud Howell Smith, a leader of amateur drama in Washington, will be in charge of the arrangements at the Capitol. Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, former chairman of the National Woman's Party, will preside.

"I never look back to the Past as the Golden Age for women, but always forward to it as coming," said Lucretia Mott. May this meeting in the Capitol, on the opening of the 78th Congress, inaugurate a new forward march for women.


*A Subscription to Equal Rights*
*Is the Nicest Gift You Can Make*

# On Our Way

*By* MAY FRANK RHOADS

THE Equal Rights Amendment will step into the 78th Congress with its gains intact. For although the November election surprise separated several good friends from us, it added many vigorous backers.

As for fearing new enemies in the changed Congress —hear what Congressman Jerry Voorhis has to say about antagonism to our cause.

Says this young Californian: "There are few people left opposed to equal rights for men and women."

The reason for the fading away of discrimination against women was recently voiced by George Grant, Congressman from Alabama, who said: "Today, it's out of step!"

Senator Joseph F. Guffey, of Pennsylvania, feels too that the time is now right for women to win equal control of their wages, property and children everywhere in our Union. He says:

"The war should make every lover of justice conscious that something should be done at once to give to the women of the United States full equality with men. We cannot have a war for world-wide democracy and at the same time deny equal justice to half of our own people. For this reason I will do all in my power to secure the immediate adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment. It is long overdue."

The 77th Congress leaves us with this status:

Senate—On the Calendar of the Senate, No. 1363.

House—Voted favorably by the Judiciary Committee; not yet reported to the House, on account of a technicality.

Now, we must start over. Again the Amendment must work its way through sub-committees and committees to the debate on the floors of both houses.

But this does not disturb the National Woman's Party. It has long been used to delays. As Florence Bayard Hilles said when defeats came in the past:

"As to the Amendment, I never despair—but it is outrageous injustice and ingratitude to accept so much from women—and not to do this necessary and just act for them."

So, with continued determination, Alice Paul and her workers have laid the groundwork for the new campaign.

In the Senate, the amendment will be introduced once more by Senator Guy Gillette of Iowa. Among the first Senators to enroll as co-sponsors are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Gerald P. Nye, N. D. | Harley Kilgore, W. Va. |
| Arthur Capper, Kan. | Millard Tydings, Md. |
| George Radcliffe, Md. | Burton K. Wheeler, |
| James Tunnell, Del. | Mont. |

Those veteran supporters of Equal Rights, Representatives Louis Ludlow, Ind., and U. R. Guyer, Kan., will, together with Representative Bartel Jonkman, Mich., will sponsor the Amendment in the House. Co-sponsors with them will be other Representatives.

To the women members of Congress, Representatives Ludlow and Guyer have sent the following letter:

"December 2, 1942.

"Mr. Guyer and I, who sign this letter, have for years worked in behalf of the Lucretia Mott Amendment to give full Equal Rights to women. Both of us have introduced it, repeatedly, in the House of Representatives and Mr. Guyer has fought for it in the House Judiciary Committee where, as you know, he is the ranking Minority Member.

"When this Amendment was first presented in Congress in 1923 by Senator Charles Curtis, later our Vice-President, and by Representative Daniel Anthony, the nephew of the great woman leader, Susan B. Anthony, it was supported by only one organization, the National Woman's Party. Today there are nineteen national organizations of women and several hundred state and local organizations which have petitioned Congress for favorable action.

"There will be seven women in the House in the coming Congress. It is our earnest hope that some or all of the women Representatives will share with us the honor of introducing this Amendment and we invite you, as one of the women members, to join with us in sponsoring it. We are also extending this same invitation to some of the men members of Congress who have given generous aid to the equality cause in previous sessions.

"Hoping that you will work with us in this way to terminate the ancient injustices to women before the law which have never been eradicated in our country—and which may be greatly increased if the adoption of this Amendment is further delayed—we beg to remain,

"Sincerely yours,

(*Signed*) "LOUIS LUDLOW.
(*Signed*) "U. S. GUYER."

Representative Guyer is the ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee of the House. With this long-time champion of woman's rights, the passage of the Amendment is "simply a matter of justice."

And his colleague on the Committee, John M. Robsion, Ky., has a long history of favoring justice to women. He urged a woman suffrage plank in the platform adopted by the Republican National Convention of 1916 and cast his first vote in Congress in 1919 for the suffrage amendment. About the present Amendment he said: "I feel that the states should have the right to pass on this question."

Demands for the Equal Rights Amendment are being sent to Congress from all over the country by national women's organizations.

The Republican Convention in 1940 adopted this plank: "We favor submission by Congress to the States of an amendment to the Constitution providing for equal rights for men and women."

The Equal Rights Amendment is marching into the Constitution.

We are on our way!

---

**WARREN E. BOW,** ***Superintendent of Detroit Schools, Endorses the Amendment***

"I am very glad to endorse the so-called Equal Rights Amendment. Democracy means equal rights and obligations, not only for the different races, creeds, national and economic groups, but also for both sexes."

*(Note: This testimony was given to Mrs. Gale Sprague (Ann Bryant), whose poem on Susan B. Anthony appeared in the February 1942 issue of "Equal Rights." Ann Bryant has contributed to "Town Talk" October issue an article titled "The Equal Rights Amendment Explained From Its Inception.")*

# The Women's Movement, Past And Present

**Mrs. Roland Gray, who spoke at the Headquarters, Sunday, November 15th, is a world traveler and lecturer. She has traveled in 47 countries, studying the evolution of women and contacting their leaders. She was present when Christabel Pankhurst was made a Dame of the British Empire, in 1936, a title of great distinction. This title bestowed on Miss Pankhurst was an honor to all militant suffragists who have gone to prison to secure the vote for women. . . .**

*By* MARY GRAY

IT IS a great pleasure to speak in this distinguished building, which stands for so much we American women hope to achieve.

The woman movement was part of a great surge of humanitarian activity which rose in the latter half of the 18th century and which threw into high relief, so that all men might recognize them, the worst evils of the Dark Ages. The reforms affected politics, prison conditions, slavery, temperance, hospitals and care of the wounded, education for women and political equality. During the succeeding century and a half we see the rising influence of women with outstanding names, like Mary Wollstonecraft, Abigail Adams, Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Clara Barton, Julia Ward Howe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony. Suffrage became a political issue as a means of accomplishing the various reforms which women felt essential.

In the past when civilization was at its height, far back in Babylon and Egypt five thousand years ago, women held a position of great honor in the state. As the Dark Ages engulfed us with the loss of science, medicine, philosophy and spiritual knowledge, women's position was steadily degraded. It was entirely inferior among the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, from whose customs and codes our laws have evolved.

During the increasing darkness, ignorance and superstition of the Middle Ages, women's position grew constantly worse. More than 100,000 women were burned as witches.

Suffrage as a political issue was begun in America in 1848. In England in 1848 higher education was opened to women, with Queen's College. In 1865, John Stuart Mill made woman suffrage a part of his political platform.

In England after forty years of constitutional attempts to win the vote unsuccessfully, in 1903 Emmeline Pankhurst formed the Women's Social and Political Union to bring more active pressure upon the Government. Militancy was gradually forced upon the women by the brutal and unconstitutional treatment they received from the Government and from the courts. It became the woman's revolution, and although women shed no blood, they endured personal indignities, cruelty and torture and in some cases death to prove their determination to enfranchise half the human race.

At the time the war broke out, in 1914, all the prisons in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland were filled with tortured women being forcibly fed in spite of protests of all ranks and of prominent physicians. With the outbreak of war Mrs. Pankhurst declared a truce and co-operated with the Government in every way. Through her efforts the way was opened for women to work in munitions factories, on the railroads and buses, and on the land, etc. The place that women have today in war work, is due to the doors opened by Mrs. Pankhurst in the last war.

Mrs. Pankhurst's organization made a great and decisive contribution to national unity, advocating from the outset of the war food rationing, conscription, promotion of friendship between the Allies, control of strikes and unity of command.

When I went to England twenty years after the war, I was amazed at how much the militant Suffragettes had accomplished. Suffragettes were to be found in almost every progressive organization. Mrs. Flora Drummond had established the Woman's Guild of Empire all over the British Isles, a non-party organization for the education of women for the vote.

Mrs. Pankhurst's statue is standing at the very gates of Parliament, and when it was unveiled the Westminster Police sent their band to honor a heroic woman.

As Mrs. Wiley has said, I was present in 1936 when Christabel Pankhurst was made Dame of the British Empire, the highest honor a woman can receive, and given to her as representing all the militant women. That was a vindication of the women and what they had suffered, by the men who had oppressed them.

I have met almost all the prominent Suffrage women in England, and was present at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Suffrage dinner when Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were guests of honor.

It is well to know what price has been paid for the freedom of women and to realize that we must not lose this battle. It is interesting to note that Mrs. Meyer of the Washington *Post*, who has just returned from England, says that women feel it imperative that social reforms be made before the war ends, not after.

Men and women must work together to supplement each other. It is not enough to sign resolutions. Only as we get the power to act into our own hands, only as we show our strength, only as we show our capacity, can we accompliish the things we want. Women should demand the place which is due them in the councils of the government. Women must have equal representation with men at the peace table. The future of the world depends upon the treatment and the rise of women. The New Age of freedom, honor, power and peace cannot come until women have established themselves as co-workers with men.

**(Editor's Note:** It is timely to remark that the National Woman's Party is a descendant of the British Women's Social and Political Union. When Alice Paul, the founder of the National Woman's Party and its present Chairman, was in college in England she helped in the suffrage movement under Emmeline Pankhurst and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence. Miss Paul suffered imprisonment three times in a British prison, in the attempt to win the vote for women, before a like fate awaited her here. Securing the vote for women, both in England and in the United States, was brought about by a bloodless revolution. Many women endured imprisonment for the sake of justice. When men stage revolutions of the magnitude of this one, lives are lost and property wrecked. To secure the vote women took all the suffering into their own lives.—A. K. W.)

---

***Is Your Subscription Paid Up?***

# Women's Part In Social Reconstruction

*Excerpts from a broadcast printed in "Association News" by*
LYRA TAYLOR, *General Secretary, Y. W. C. A., Sydney, Australia.*

MANY of you will remember the song, popular many years ago, which contained the lugubrious line, set to a very mournful tune: "For men must work and women must weep." The mental picture it called up is definitely a thing of bygone days. This is an age in which, although women may have their usual share of weeping to do, they undoubtedly have far, far more actual hard war-work than any previous generation of women. In Australia alone, we are told that there will be more than 80,000 women engaged in war-work by the end of this year. And there is very little glamour any more about this war-work. Even the uniform no longer helps to glamorize the situation. I have talked in the last few months with many young women, girls in their early 20's, about this matter, and they are, many of them, perhaps more clear-eyed about realities than are some of their elders.

Many of these young women, too, are quite realistic about the post-war situation. They know that, no matter in what comfort they were raised, their very livelihood may, in a few years from now, depend on their own hands and brains.

These young women will, when the post-war reconstruction period comes, prove a force to be reckoned with. Having given some of the best years of their lives to helping win the war, they will not be content to let the post-war world be fashioned to a pattern about the shape of which they have not been consulted.

1. This war is teaching them that "Politics," which perhaps they have hitherto thought to be merely the dull concern of dull and elderly men, can and does interfere with and endanger their own happiness, their own lives.

2. This war is also teaching them that great financial power, concentrated in the hands of a few people, can play havoc with the destinies of uncounted thousands. Some of these young women are already asking, "Is there going to be another depression after this war?"

3. And perhaps most important of all, this war is teaching these young women that if you want a thing you must work for it. Working for it, and working hard at that, is the only absolutely sure method of securing it.

With these three lessons being learned, and learned in a hard school, day after day as the weeks and the months go by, the women, and particularly the younger women, of this Commonwealth are becoming a powerful force in the shaping of the post-war world.

What will be—what can be—their special contribution to post-war reconstruction?

It seems to me that women, and especially the younger women, can be useful along four distinct lines of endeavor:

1. They can determine to be well-informed on the great issues of the day. Many young Australian women have already made this determination, and are beginning to act upon it. Some of my listeners would probably be surprised if they knew the number of small study-circles, classes and discussion groups now trying to see for themselves—really to understand—what are the basic minimum essentials for a new social order after the war. They know that a new social order of *some* sort is coming, whether they like it or not. And they are determined to see clearly—to define—certain minimum standards to which that order should conform, if it is to be—and it must be—any improvement upon the social order which we now see decaying round us on every hand.

In their study circles and discussion groups, women are even now asking such questions as these: (1)—"What *causes* boom periods followed by depression periods?" (2)—"*What* brings about large scale unemployment?" (3)—"*Why* is there poverty in the midst of plenty?" (4)—"*Who* has ordained that the very few should be extremely wealthy and the vast majority comparatively poor?"

Let but enough women set themselves seriously to study such questions, and the results of their studies are bound to have far-reaching effects.

2. WOMEN CAN AND SHOULD CONSCIOUSLY SEE THEMSELVES AS A PART, AND A VITAL AND NECESSARY PART, OF THE WHOLE COMMONWEALTH, with a definite responsibility for the well-being of that commonwealth.

There is still far too much tendency on the part of women to be content with a very secondary place, to look askance at those of their own sex whose hard work and talents and real service win them a place of leadership in the community. Women in some of the English-speaking countries have yet, in this regard, much to learn from, say, the women of China, whose emphasis is on their humanity, rather than on their feminity. PEARL BUCK, writing recently on this topic, "A Different World for Women," says, "Women should behave with dignity and take her place not as a female, but as a human being in a world desperately needing to be rebuilt. She must not think of what she can get, but of what she can give to her times. She must recognize the world as it is, and live in it and share in the work to be done."

3. WOMEN MUST LEARN TO CONCERN THEMSELVES WITH REAL ISSUES, and to think and to work at the point where those issues are being decided. That point, plainly, is to be found in the economic field. There will not be wanting those who will say: "But women's greatest contribution is primarily a spiritual one." Now it is just precisely this attempted separation of "spiritual values" from the real issues which has led the world into its present distresses. Religion kept in a watertight compartment rapidly loses its power. Religion brought out of some vaguely defined, miscalled, spiritual realm and thrust into the world of business, of pleasure, and of ordinary living, becomes a force with which the world must reckon.

Women have always known this, but their tendency—so long regarded as "natural"—towards self-subjugation to men has prevented them from making full use of that knowledge. But the time is coming when women will speak out clearly in condemnation of the absurd attempt to separate religion and politics, or religion and business, or religion and *any* department of human life and affairs.

They will denounce for the stupid untruth that it is the statement that religion is something to do only with the soul. And they will insist that all life and everything to do with human living is the concern of the LORD OF LIFE. One confesses to an admiration for a young modern preacher who recently stated, with almost passionate emphasis, that "there was no possible sense in putting on your boots in the morning if you did not believe in the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity."

Should some well intentioned but misguided male in the post-war reconstruction period, in a sudden burst of inspiration, once more see the solution of the world's problems in the simple statement, "Woman's place is in the home," he will but invite the reply, "Woman will not return to the home until she has helped make the world a place fit for homes, and not merely an arena for air-raid shelters." Good housekeeping, the art of home-making, can be usefully practiced only in a world which has, through suffering, passed on into an era of sane living. And sanity, at long last, will be found to exist where the primacy of the spiritual is acknowledged not only in Church and on Sundays, but in every department of living.

4. WOMEN, BOTH AS INDIVIDUALS AND IN GROUPS, MUST LEARN TO DEVELOP A STRONGER SENSE OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY. We need only to translate into public life the lessons we have learned in our homes: such simple facts as the necessity for constant, never-failing care in small things (food, dishes, sweeping, dusting, mending—all of which must be *constantly* attended to day after day), if the home is to be comfortable and well ordered; if it is not to fall below the standard we have set up. The same thing is true of the larger tasks which go to the making and keeping of a well ordered world. DOROTHY SAYERS, in her popular book "Begin Here," quotes a sentence of G. K. Chesterton's to this effect: "If you leave a white post alone, it will soon be a black post. If you particularly want it to be white, you must always be painting it again." So that, even if by some miracle a perfect social order were achieved, constantly renewed effort would be needed to keep it in perfect condition. And we women are beginning to see that it is no use leaving the initiative to groups vaguely referred to as "the Government," or "the Authorities," or "the Churches." We are beginning to see that it is up to us; that we have a social responsibility; that it is not enough to help win the war, but that we must bear a part in building a new order after the war.

These, I think, will be found to be the four main elements in women's part in *social reconstruction:*

(a)—To study so that we may be well-informed on the issues of the day.
(b)—To see ourselves as a vital and necessary element in the social life of the Commonwealth.
(c)—To concern ourselves with real issues, especially in the realms of economics and of politics; and
(d)—To develop a stronger sense of social responsibility—a feeling that "it is up to us"—"it is up to *me.*"

## Sara Southall Gets Much Information Firsthand

Washington.

National plans for utilizing women in war work have fallen into the capable hands of Sara Southall, one time "starry-eyed idealist" with 21 years of practical factory and personnel experience behind her new government job.

It is Miss Southall who will advise Brig.-Gen. Frank J. McSherry and through him War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt on policies to encourage the entrance of 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 women into labor ranks before the end of 1943.

Miss Southall divides her time between the War Manpower office in Washington and her permanent job as supervisor of employment and services with the International Harvester Company in Chicago.

Miss Southall describes herself as an idealist who fell into an industrial job not exactly of her own accord. She was at Hull House in Chicago, taking graduate work at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, when a fellow "reformer" asked her if she would be interested in a job at International Harvester.

"At that time," she recounts, "I looked upon business as a monster that ground the working man down. My friend told me they were just starting industrial relations work at International Harvester and I might find it interesting. Still believing that a corporation of any kind was pretty bad, I consented to go for an interview.

"When the personnel director asked me why I wanted to work at International Harvester, I replied, 'I don't.' Finally I agreed to stay, but only on one condition—that I would never be made to do anything against my conscience." That was in 1920. Miss Southall has been with the company ever since.

The first winter she was there, she decided she wanted to learn more about factory work so she took a job in the twine mills. In the intervening years she has taken her place at various factory machines to learn more about the problems of the workers. . . .

Working women and their problems are no novelty to Miss Southall. "Women," she says, "have worked for a long time and the woman war worker is no different than women who've been working always either in the home or in business."

She feels that all she can do in Washington is to help set up broad general policies on the use of women, first of which were recently issued by Mr. McNutt. Among the principles laid down were: removal of all barriers against employment of women in any occupations for which they are or can be fitted; *wage rates, including entrance rate, to be determined for all workers on the basis of work performed, irrespective of sex;* employers to be asked to analyze all jobs in their plants at once, to determine which can be filled by women and to prepare for employing the largest possible number.

Recent travels to war centers have convinced Miss Southall that prejudice against women workers is rapidly breaking down, but there is still much to be done.

"It is amazing, for instance, to see the labor market for older women opening up in Detroit. Employers are learning by experience that the older worker is often more stable and her experience counts for something. Henry Ford has two women 59 years old on his assembly line at Willow Run."

At the same time, Miss Southall pointed to the futility of registering women for war service, as proposed by President Roosevelt, until employers have scheduled their labor needs and made a place for women. In Detroit where 300,000 women said in a post card survey that they were willing to take jobs, employers are slow in hiring them, preferring to enlist male labor from other sections of the country, thus adding to serious housing and transportation problems.

Being a person of practical experience, Miss Southall realizes that fixing policy in Washington is one thing and getting it put into factory practice is another. She promises an "aggressive follow-up" on the government's "equal pay for equal work" rule, though admits it is not yet being followed in all war industries.

Both Miss Southall and her assistant, Miss Thelma McKelvey, are opposed to surrounding the woman war worker with protective rules that might endanger her chances of being hired. For instance, the U. S. Women's Bureau recently issued a statement saying that "women workers should be employed on the night shift only as an emergency measure to prevent overtime on day shifts." Miss Southall believes that if women are needed on night shifts, they should be willing to go on them, on the same basis with men.

—By a Staff Correspondent (From the *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 5, 1942).

## Mary Winsor Answers Westbrook Pegler

In the Washington *News* of Nov. 14, 1942, Mr. Westbrook Pegler is quoted as saying:

"Concerning democracy in the treatment of the sexes," as he put it, Henry Wallace, the Vice-President, said in his speech to the Congress of American Soviet Friendship . . . that it had taken the war experience of Russia to demonstrate the completeness of our own failure . . ." (see November issue, page 91).

Continuing, Mr. Pegler says: "That is Mr. Wallace's idea of one of the meanings of democracy. It means that women become soldiers or factory hands and have the privilege of performing most of the kinds of work that men do. It is true that in the United States women are the victims of a wage differential in most lines of work. That, however, can be adjusted by raising their pay without any alteration of the American form of government or change in the relations of the Government to the governed. It represents only faulty operation of the American system, not a fault of the system itself.

"OTHERWISE WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES DO ENJOY EQUALITY WITH MEN. THEY VOTE AND EXCEPT IN A FEW STATES WHICH CLING TO OLD LAWS WITHOUT CONSCIOUS KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR PEOPLE, THEIR PROPERTY RIGHTS ARE FULLY RESPECTED AND PROTECTED. INDEED THEY ENJOY SPECIAL LEGAL PROTECTION AS THE HOMEMAKERS AND THE MOTHERS OF CHILDREN AND AMERICAN THOUGHT HAS ALWAYS IMPOSED ON THE HUSBANDS AND FATHERS A DUTY TO PROVIDE HOMES AND THE NECESSITIES OF LIFE FOR THEIR FAMILIES. It would seem that in Mr. Wallace's concept of democracy woman is degraded by this legal recognition of her dependency, but the American people will be slow to emancipate her in this respect.

"The enfranchisement of women in the United States regrettably has caused no perceptible improvement in the political hygiene of the country . . ."

In the Philadelphia *Inquirer* of Nov. 23rd, 1942, Mary Winsor, old-time member of the National Woman's Party, replies:

"NOT EQUAL

"To the Editor of the *Inquirer:*

"Please let me comment on Westbrook Pegler's far too rosy picture of women in the United States as 'ENJOYING EQUALITY WITH MEN.' As he says, we got the vote but this constituted only the first step in the struggle for equality. Ancient laws discriminating against women still exist in every State. According to Mr. Pegler, this is 'without conscious knowledge of their people,' but I want to assure him that when feminists called the attention of the Legislatures to these inequalities this 'unconsciousness' frequently hardened into a firm resolve on the part of the solons to retain these discriminations.

"It would take a book to do justice to the subject and I can give only a few instances out of hundreds . . ." Then Miss Winsor gave an enumeration of the 1,000 or more discriminations, still existing in the State laws, against women.

## Navy Nurse Corps

On July 7, 1942, the President approved an act prescribing relative rank for members of the Navy Nurse Corps. Under this law nurse superintendents are given the rank of Lieutenant Commander; assistant superintendents become lieutenants; chief nurses, lieutenants junior grade, and nurses, ensigns. Although the Navy Nurse Corps was established in 1908, never before have they had a legally prescribed relative rank. The Corps is comprised of graduate trained nurses within the Medical Corps of the Navy.

## An Interesting Letter

**from Mrs. Edith How-Martin, 22 Auburn Road, Lidcombe, N. S. W. Australia, to her friend, Kitty Marion, old suffragist pal, dated June 14, 1942, received in September and printed with her permission.**

Kitty, dear, doubtless you have just heard the broadcast of the President of the United States. I must let off my disappointment and to whom better than to an old suffragette comrade. For me the speech was spoilt by the use of "men" and "man" when "peoples" and "men and women" would have been more accurate and inspiring. It is no use for them to tell us that "man" includes "woman." We know better. We know that it took just 143 years before the Declaration of Independence included women politically and, as the National Woman's Party knows, there is not even equality yet. The proposal to include the wife's income in the husband's shows how deep in men's natures is the impulse to treat women as chattels.

When toward the end of the Message the President sort of prayed for "our women" the chattel idea was evident. If women have the Four Freedoms as freely as men, they will be able to hold their own and regard men as comrades and not as protectors. And looking round the world, especially at the women murdered in Czechoslovakia, the less men talk about protecting women the better. You can see I was left pretty mad and felt more convinced than ever that the National Woman's Party and such groups have the right ideals, and should receive our work and our loyalty.

The "Atlantic Charter" has the same defect and if I have occasion to quote it I shall alter it to *"peoples* in all lands" instead of *"men* in all lands." I shall convert the phrase "Such a peace should enable all *men* to traverse the high sea" to "Men and women to traverse the high sea . . . " I do hope the National Woman's Party has adopted Margaret Cousins' suggestion to protest to the Governments on this point.

Seriously I am getting worried at all the Utopias people are being promised. I remember last time—and am more than skeptical. However, in the Anglo-Soviet Treaty we have one solid rock on which to rebuild Europe. Let us hope it will be a better world, but of course people are the same, their desires, passions, anxieties, ignorances, credulities, hopes, despairs, remembrances of horrors and so on, so let us not expect too much. When I see around me in whatever country I go—masses of women quite content to accept inferior positions compared with men, then I see what an immense and prodigious task we have.

## Statement by Senator Guy M. Gillette

I introduced the Equal Rights Amendment in the last Congress and I expect to introduce it again in the 78th. I will introduce the Amendment the opening week of Congress.

I am convinced that the Amendment will pass the Senate and the House of Representatives within a short time and will be sent on to the States for ratification.

I consider it a high honor to have part in bringing to a conclusion the movement to establish equality of rights for women before the law, throughout our country.

**JOIN THE WOMAN'S PARTY**
**Work with Women for Women**

## Mrs. Emile Berliner

In the death of Mrs. Emile Berliner, November 21, 1942, the National Woman's Party lost a good friend, an able worker and a generous donor. Mrs. Berliner was a Founder and Life Member of the organization and was a former Chairman of the District Branch. Her liberal views were shared by her gifted husband. One of the most interesting stories of notable American citizens is that of Emile Berliner. He came to this country as an immigrant boy, who rose step by step, gift by gift to the people, until he reached the top of the scientific world. Every time you talk into a telephone, every time you start your gramophone, every time you "listen in" you put yourself in the debt of Dr. Emile Berliner.

Through all those difficult early years Mrs. Berliner was the help and inspiration of her husband. She loved little children; she was intensely interested in the blind; she was extraordinarily charitable to all people who came to her for help. The National Woman's Party mourns her loss with her many, many friends.

## News Notes Of The Branches

### CALIFORNIA

The Palo Alto, Calif., Branch of the National Woman's Party held its second annual meeting on October 8, 1942. Alice Park gave an interesting talk on early suffragist periodicals and showed copies of them from her remarkable collection of feminist literature. Marion S. Alderton talked on the importance of women in political office and gave reasons why more should be elected. The gathering agreed to try and get a competent woman to run for congress from the local district in 1944.

The reports of officers and committee chairmen showed much branch activity during the past twelve-month. The following officers were elected: Chairman, Mrs. Olga K. Robinson; vice-chairman, Mrs. Anita Stanton; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Laura R. Longanecker.

### NEW YORK STATE

We regretfully announce that Mrs. Edna S. Capewell, Acting Chairman of the New York State Branch has resigned to take up personnel work in a large corporation. During her nearly two years of devoted service for the National Woman's Party, Mrs. Capewell has greatly advanced the cause of constitutional equality between men and women. Dr. Jeannette Marks, former Professor of English Literature, Mt. Holyoke, whose home is in Wesport-on-Lake Champlain, succeeds Mrs. Capewell in this important post.

### NEW YORK CITY BRANCH

Mrs. Robert N. Errington, one of the Executive Board Members of the New York City Branch has been making numerous speeches for the National Woman's Party before the Parent Teacher Association, the American Association of University Women and the Pan-Hellenic Association, while absent from her New York home. Mrs. Errington has followed her husband, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert N. Errington, who is now stationed at Camp Shelby, Hattiesburg, Miss.

### NEW JERSEY

Dynamic and alert Anna B. Hogan, lawyer of Jersey City, N. J., has assumed the Acting Chairmanship of the New Jersey Branch.

### WYOMING and FLORIDA

Due to the activities of Mrs. Ethel Ernest Murrell, our Florida State Chairman, a new South Wyoming Branch has been started at Laramie, Wyo., during Mrs. Murrell's vacation there, with the approval and assistance of Lisbeth Wiley, our Wyoming State Chairman.

Since her return home to Miami, Fla., Mrs. Murrell has started a Branch at South Dade, Fla. Mrs. Betterly is one of the moving spirits of the new Branch. Next to following her legal profession, Mrs. Murrell's main activity is the work of the National Woman's Party, advocating its program and answering adversaries at all times.

## A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

### Women, Your Country Needs You!

IN SPITE of the fact that women held the balance of voting power in many parts of the country in the November election, fewer women were candidates for Congress and the major State offices than in the past two general elections.

I have often wondered why women have not shown more interest in running for public office. They have held fewer public offices in the United States than in countries which we regard as far less progressive, in spite of the fact that they have had an enviable background of freedom with virile women's organizations working for their complete citizenship for almost 100 years. This leads me to wonder if these organizations have not become an end in themselves, keeping women in an indirect rather than a direct relationship to government.

Men have not encouraged women's cooperation in government, preferring naturally to keep the balance of power on their side, and the plums as well. And women with their natural diplomacy where men are concerned have acted slowly and have not forced recognition to any great extent. Probably too only a minority of women recognize their ability to assume a more active role in government. They have been taught for so many generations that government is man's sphere, and subconsciously this fallacy still controls their thinking. Nor have the schools and women's colleges taught them any better. Very few history textbooks recognize at all women's contribution to the building up of our country and the development of democracy. Women's colleges have been so busy bending over backward to show that education will not discourage women from being good wives and mothers that they have overlooked entirely women's responsibility to take part in government, that is, actually to hold public office. To be sure, they have encouraged women's traditional role of a sister of mercy, and have encouraged women to work in indirect ways through their clubs to improve their cities and communities. But I have not heard of one woman's college that has even suggested to its students that they should aspire to hold the job of Mayor of their city, serve in their State Legislature, or represent their States in Congress. Perhaps a few courageous, far-seeing professors have made attempts to rouse women students, but it has not been the general policy of colleges or the teaching profession. Perhaps the course inaugurated at Syracuse University this fall on the "Status and Responsibilities of Women in the Social Order" will be a step in the right direction. At least it has a great opportunity to become a pattern for the future.

Every boy leaving school or college is confident of his ability to govern. He knows he is a potential President, Senator or Mayor. Ask college girls if a woman should ever be President of the United States, and a large majority will say that a man can fill the job better. Only a few will admit that women have the ability and that some day a woman will be President. Only a minority will even think about a career in Congress or in their State Legislatures. This is all wrong. Women have the ability and they have a responsibility toward democratic government.

With more and more young men being called into the armed forces, many of them never to return, who will be left to fill adequately our public offices but our able women? Can women at such a time continue to be observers? They too must give their lives to their country. They must enter the field of government with the same zeal and the same adaptability with which they have entered new fields in the past. No one need fear that there are not enough able women to fill the gaps. Many of them may say they have never had political ambitions. This is not a question of political ambition. It is the serious matter of preserving, strengthening, and perfecting democratic government.

Women, your country needs you not only to keep up morale, not only to bind up its wounds, not only to keep war plants, business, and the farms going. It needs you to share in government. Will you answer the call?

## Florence Bayard Hilles Feminist Library

Mary Elizabeth Downey, *Librarian*

The Florence Bayard Hilles Feminist Library is now one year old. It is remarkable how the collection relating to the evolution of women has grown, and how many people are interested in its development.

The great need at present is for more shelving, as soon as it can be obtained.

Assistance with material for the preparation of radio talks has been quite noticeable since a great deal of publicity is now being given over the radio, as well as through the newspapers. It is expected that more and more radio work will be done all over the country and that the Library will have a great part in helping to provide material.

Since our last report of donors, gifts have come from the following persons: Ethel Adamson, Caroline Babcock, Elizabeth D. Black, British Library of Information, Mrs. H. W. Blunt, Jr., Elinor Brynes, Edna D. Capewell, Genevieve D. Carlisle, Isabel French, Mrs. H. E. Gibson, Dorothy S. Granger, Jane Fair, Anna Melissa Graves, Florence Hedges, Elizabeth T. Kent, Helaine Magnus, Jeannette Marks, Ann B. Mitchell, Dora G. Ogle, Mr. A. Penny, Grace Roe and Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley.

A few more biographical sketches of present day feminists have come. We hope to have every state represented in the collection.

CALENDAR—*Program for January.* We now begin a new year, with the sesquicentennial celebration of the birthday of Lucretia Mott, on January 3, 1943. This will give opportunity for talks on the life of Lucretia Mott and the inception and progress of the woman suffrage and equal rights movements.

Local libraries may be consulted for encyclopedia and periodical articles and any books they may have on the subject. Special references are: Stanton, Anthony and Gage, *"History of Woman Suffrage";* Hallowell, *"James and Lucretia Mott";* also other lives about her.

XMAS OFFER

*6 Subscriptions For*

$5.00

*SUBSCRIBE FOR YOUR FRIENDS*